l: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
287, 854 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with t[illegible]e kaṁaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles."

1: Karsten--235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 854, 751 (1928-29)

"Since children are always delicate and liable to fall ill the Indians try to protect their sucking babies by, among other things, different amulets consisting of animals' teeth and claws, 'medical' collars of fragrant seeds, shells etc. Still more common is prophylactic body-painting with roucou mixed with certain other ingredients, and accordingly called karawira, áratinyu, etc. Since small children are very liable to fall ill through witchery, the parents generally take care not to show their babes to strangers visiting the house, lest they should be harmed by the 'evil eye' or in some other mysterious way. As a rule the Indian woman never leaves her sucking babe alone in the house when she goes out, but takes it with her wherever she goes, carrying it at the breast if it is quite small, on the back when it is a little bigger. Thus when she goes to the manioc plantation to fetch manioc she nearly always has her babe with her, carrying home both the heavy basket with manioc roots and her child. "

4: Up de Graff--219-220 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
854, 862

"One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)"

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutanú*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*dimpúi*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemi* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again.

The child is given a name within a few days after being

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553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [599] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc • 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jivaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 593 539

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child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 854 533 539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying.
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing.
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer. 853

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with 862 [231]

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862 her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take
[231] place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a better variety.

• 854 The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

868 To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stove railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

863 The attitude toward toilet training is quite relaxed. When a toddler starts to defecate or urinate in the house, it is taken outside, but it is not castigated verbally or otherwise. The mother simply digs up the soiled portion of the dirt floor and throws it out. The simplicity of this solution, together with the fact that adults themselves may urinate on the floor at night to avoid exposing themselves to possible attackers outside the house, helps one understand their attitude. Later, the
[961] child is simply told to go outside, but if it fails to do so, there is no condemnatory admonition. Finally, however, if the child is still failing to go out of the house by the time it is about five years old, then the mother will speak her disap-
[961] proval. As a last resort, she may spank the child lightly with a vine.

Children are encouraged to wash their hands and to bathe.
[861] They are told that if they do not wash their hands before eating, their growth will be delayed and stunted. Girls are

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10. Men (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cunsimi, 1956-57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be enemies attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cunsimi, 1956-57).

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

context of a four-day feast and dance, *ukí ankt* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemá* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall.
It emerges where the mountains become snow.
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The normal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hallucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hopefully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child misbehaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.